

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 NEA-09 ISO-00 IO-10 SAM-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 /088 W

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R 091313Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1785

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY RABAT

/AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT 120

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

USUN NEW YORK 473

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 3172

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SS, MO, UN

SUBJ: SPANISH SAHARA: NO DIALOGUE WITH MOROCCO AND

UPSURGE IN INCIDENTS

REF: MADRID 3157

1. SUMMARY: DIRGEN OF SAHARA IN PRESIDENCY REPORTS NO DIALOGUE NOW IN PROGRESS WITH MOROCCO ALTHOUGH HE SEES BILATERAL TALKS AS ONLY REAL SOLUTION. MOROCCAN-SUPPORTED INSURGENCY GROUPS HAVE UNLEASHED SERIES OF INCIDENTS IN SAHARA TIMED TO DRAMATIZE SITUATION FOR ARRIVAL OF UN INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE MAY 12. END SUMMARY.

2. IN MEETING WITH EMBOFF MAY 7, DIRGEN OF SAHARA IN PRESIDENCY, BLANCO, SAID GOS WOULD COMPLY IN EVERY WAY WITH UN RESOLUTION TO FACILITATE VISIT BY THREE-MAN  
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INVESTIGATING TEAM OF DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE TO SAHARA.

MFA WAS ACTION MINISTRY AND HAD SCHEDULED MEETING AT PRESIDENCY AND "TOURIST PROGRAM" IN SPAIN MAY 8-12 PRIOR TO DEPARTURE TO EL AIUUN, SAHARA. BLANCO WOULD ACCOMPANY TEAM TO EL AIUUN AND FACILITATE INITIAL ON-THE-SPOT ARRANGEMENTS, BUT OTHERWISE LEAVE TEAM TO DECIDE ENTIRELY FOR ITSELF WHAT IT WANTED TO DO. SCHEDULE CALLS FOR TEAM TO REMAIN IN SAHARA MAY 12-20, RETURN TO MADRID MAY 21-22, VISIT MOROCCO MAY 22-26, ALGERIA MAY 27-30, AND FOLLOWING INTERVAL IN PARIS, CONCLUDE INQUIRY BY VISIT TO MAURITANIA, JUNE 4-8. BLANCO SAID IT WAS ILL-CONSIDERED AND TACTLESS CHOICE TO NAME BLACK AFRICAN (IVORY COAST) AS UN TEAM LEADER BECAUSE OF DEEP SAHARAN HOSTILITY TOWARDS BLACKS. HE ANTICIPATED THAT CUBAN REP, MARTA JIMENEZ, WHO MADE REPUTATION FOR "ADVOCACY OF PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE", MIGHT PROVE TROUBLESOME.

3. DIRGEN REPORTED UPSURGE OF INCIDENTS IN PAST SEVERAL DAYS IN SAHARA: THREE BOMBINGS IN EL AIUUN AND TWO FRONTIER INCIDENTS WITH INSURGENTS GROUPS FROM MOROCCO (SEE FBIS NO 2976). ONE CIVILIAN WAS KILLED IN EL AIUUN: FRONTIER SHOOTINGS AT LEAST GAVE SPANISH SECURITY FORCES OPPORTUNITY TO TRACK DOWN INSURGENTS, HE SAID. THESE INCIDENTS, TOGETHER WITH KIDNAPPINGS (REFTEL) WERE DESIGNED TO DRAMATIZE LOCAL SITUATION FOR VISITING UN TEAM.

4. ASKED ABOUT OUTLOOK FOR RESOLUTION OF CONTROVERSY, DIRGEN SAID THAT WITHOUT SERIOUS DIALOGUE WITH MOROCCO SITUATION WOULD BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR SPAIN. "WHAT WE NEED NOW IS OUR OWN KISSINGER WHO COULD VISIT ARAB CAPITALS INCLUDING RABAT AND BRING ABOUT MEANINGFUL TALKS; IF I WERE IN MFA I WOULD LOSE NO TIME IN GETTING TALKS GOING," HE SAID. (THERE WAS UNDISGUISED CRITICISM OF WHAT HE SAW AS DO-NOTHING STANCE OF FONMIN CORTINA MAURI.)

5. DIRGEN SAID SEC GEN OF ISLAMIC MOVEMENT, MOHAMMED HASSAN EL TOHAM, WAS SUPPORTER OF KING HASSAN AND COULD NOT BE COUNTED ON TO FACILITATE SETTLEMENT. (ES TOHAM ARRIVED IN MADRID MAY 5 ON OFFICIAL VISIT REPORTEDLY TO DISCUSS STRENGTHENING SPAIN'S ECONOMIC TIES WITH ISLAMIC COUNTRIES.)  
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DIRGEN SAID EL TOHAM HAD SEEN CORTINA AND PREMIER ARIAS NAVARRO ON PREVIOUS VISIT, BUT HE WAS NOT AWARE OF SCHEDULE OF VISITS THIS TIME.

6. COMMENT: DESPITE SPECULATION OF SECRET CONTACTS RECENT TOUGH TALK BY HASSAN (REFTEL) AND REPORTS OF RISE IN INCIDENTS IN SAHARA, WE SEE NO INDICATION CHANGE IN SPANISH POLICY OR INCREASED WILLINGNESS SEEK DIRECT ACCOMMODATION

WITH MOROCCO AS DESIRED BY BLANCO. SPANISH POLICY CONTINUES TO BE ADHERED CLOSELY TO UN PRESCRIPTIONS, INCLUDING ICJ ADJUDICATION, AND TO PERMIT EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN SAHARA. WHILE SPANISH CAREFULLY REFRAIN FROM PUBLIC STATEMENTS PRE-JUDGING SELF-DETERMINATION OUTCOME, THEIR RECENT ACTIONS IN FOSTERING INDEPENDENCE POLITICAL PARTY AND IN PREPARING LEGISLATION AND INSTITUTIONS APPROPRIATE TO STATEHOOD (INCLUDING NATIONAL ANTHEM LEAVE LITTLE DOUBT THEY FORESEE INDEPENDENT SAHARA. CHIEF EXPONENT OF THIS POLICY IS FONMIN CORTINA, THOUGH INDICATIONS ARE THAT HE HAS FULL BACKING OF FRANCO, WHO MAY WELL HAVE DRAWN POLICY'S BROAD OUTLINES. THOSE SUCH AS BLANCO WHO OPPOSE THIS POLICY AND FAVOR DEAL WITH MOROCCO, PARTICULARLY IN ARMED FORCES, APPEARED TO HAVE DWINDLED FOLLOWING HASSAN'S CLAIM IN FEBRUARY TO SPANISH PRESIDIO'S.

BLANCO CONCERN REPRESENTATIVE OF THOSE WHO WORK MOST CLOSELY WITH SAHARA. UNLIKE FONMIN OFFICIALS AND OTHER MADRID-BASED POLICY MAKERS, WHO TEND TO SEE SAHARA PROBLEM IN ABSTRACT JURIDICAL TERMS, BLANCO HAS FIRST-HAND EXPOSURE TO SAHARA'S GROWING PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEM, ITS VULNERABILITY TO ITS NEIGHBORS, AND TO MANY PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN MAKING UNDER-POPULATED DESERT INTO VIABLE STATE IN BRIEF TIME. WE SUSPECT THERE WILL CONTINUE TO BE CONTACTS OF SOME SORT BETWEEN SPANISH AND MOROCCANS OR OTHER ITINERANT INTERMEDIARIES, SUCH AS EL TOHAM, BUT NO REAL NEGOTIATIONS. SPANISH LIKELY TO SHOW LITTLE INTEREST IN POSSIBLE NEW APPROACHES UNTIL AFTER ICJ OPINION.

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